136 "meset", small white termite which eats wood.

Flying beetles: "enzezza" (onomatopoetic) resembled big bee, eats holes into wooden beams of houses, does not live in colonies. It makes honey which is despised as "wild" by the Amhara, but zar spirits are believed fond of it, especially in the bush. A greenish variety, "tenzizza", the cockchafer, makes no honey, and is eaten by chickens.

[776 237]

Scorpion ("gint"), though mainly a lowland animal, is found also in river valleys on the plateau. It is considered very poisonous especially to cows who swallow it while grazing and are said to die from it. Brown, finger-length, it hides under rocks. Its sting must be "pulled from the wound", in Amhara practice.

[752]

Wild rodents abound in rural areas, and rats which harbor fleas are common along trade routes. They are also a danger to crops, and one of the reasons why threshed grain is stored in the living-hut, in huge, mud-hardened grain bins.

[241 251]

13 The ecological provinces of Ethiopia can be summarized as follows:

(1) Alpine, high-plateau type.

(2) Forests rich in fauna, and mountain savanna.

(3) Desert or near-desert savanna in lowlands, with belts of tropical forest along the rivers.

231 536 Domestication of animals, as mentioned before, is very old in Ethiopia. To this day, the wealth even of long-settled Amhara peasants is judged according to the number of

352 legs; thongs of sundried oxhide interlace the wooden frame diagonally giving the bed a springy quality. In case of great poverty, wooden slats are used instead of oxhide, and a cowskin is placed on top. The leather alga seems to resemble the leather thong bed of ancient Greece.

354 (4) The fireplace set up front of center, 5 of 3 cornerstones ("medeja", or, "gulcha"), so that the broad baking-pan and clay cooking pots are well supported.

352 (5) From the center pole to the rear are various clay bins [251] ("riq", made of a frame of willow branches, cowdung and mud) [415] holding threshed grain. Behind the fireplace is the "gurej", the storage space for plow, axe, adze, beer and water [482] pots, skin sacks for transporting grain to market; sometimes a litter ("qarēza") used for transporting rocks, beams, sick or dead persons, the wounded in war, and formerly an indispensable equipment for corvée. Also behind the center pole is the indoor grain bin made of concentric rings [251] of clay and fine straw, dried outside, and inside assembled to a height of 60".

(6) In front of the center pole stands the portable "massob", the table woven tightly of reeds in the shape of a round breadbasket, on which the daily bread, "enjara" is served. A small massob may have a diameter at top of 18" and may be 20" high. The height would come from a triangular leg of 7", on which an inverted, triangular leg faces upward 10" in the manner of an hourglass; and another 3" from the height of the top tablet. The hollow leg tapers to a waist, then widens again toward the top. It has a depression in the center, so that the spiced meat stew can

[352] accumulate there when poured over the limp sheets of bread.

251 (7) Food staples must be stored out of reach of domestic animals, on horizontal slats fastened between the horizontal beam and walls. On these slats lie flat cakes of "abshelo" (pre-fermented and baked hops), bunches of sorghum, husks of maize, etc.

352 To provide additional privacy, togas can be hung across. This was done in the past particularly at dinner [754] time, to protect the eaters from the "evil eye" in the [609] presence of non-kinsmen, and is still done in some remote areas, unless the peasant prefers to postpone his meal until the stranger has gone away, so as not to offend him.

342 The tucul is regarded as a good, sound habitation by the Amhara. It is compared to the round tent of the king and duke ("ras") which not so long ago was the center of activities (if not the actual capital) of the province and country. On the other hand, reactangular or square huts, [554] "säqäla", are regarded as carrying low prestige, little more than temporary lean-to's of hunters. The proverb indicates this low regard of a säqäla:

[539]

"Of children, the worst is the bastard;
of foods, the hardest is beans;
of clothing, the poorest is nätäla (half-toga);
of housing, the poorest is säqäla."

Response: "(but) from enemy, the bastard son will defend you;
toward better days the bean will let you survive;
in (warm) daytime, the nätäla will clothe you;
till a better is built, the säqäla will shelter you".

There are special tuculs of varying degrees of sturdiness:

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

824
[281] yellow fruit of an "embway" bush an astringent is made for depilation of hides.

[251] Butter is preserved and "perfumed" by boiling it with the leaves of the "ades" (myrtle) bush.

[263] Wild spice - used to flavor the flat taste of porridge during the long lenten fasting season, is obtained from a daisy-like flower "komär" with strongly scented foliage resembling camomile. But because it is "wild" it is despised at other times.

[262] Wild oil - in case of crop failure, "suf", sunflower seed (Carthamus tinctorus) is crushed for edible oil.

222
554 The element of shame at collecting rather than planting thus affects only those items directly connected with food consumption. The reason is that this would class the consumer with one who "hunts for subsistence", and such hunters are considered at the lowest social stratum.

Therefore, very little fruit is consumed by the Amhara, in view of the absence of any pattern of planting orchards. Even the wiesspread fig tree, planted for ages past for its broad shade, and used by ancient kings and judges when judging legal cases, is largely used for food only by children, ex-slaves and birds. Among the wild fruit consumed by these groups, are:

wild cherry - "gaba", a spiny tree with small fruit.

wild orange - "koshäm" (rumex abissinica), with sour fruit.

wild mulberry - "enjoriya", resembled blackberry, grows along rivers.

"gämärro" - (Capparis tomentosa), with edible red fruit.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

134
823

alluvial soil - "borbwara märet", rich silt carried by rivers and brooks.

infertile soils - "qoda märet" dries too quickly after rains;
"arbacha märet", reddish, after erosion, infertile mounds;
"gebgaba märet", harvest withers at stalk before maturity;
"gergera märet", useless to plow, better leave for wild fruit.
"fech märet", abandoned land, leave for pasturage.

hard-to-penetrate - "gewchacha märet", plow cannot penetrate readily,
"gombore märet", sandy but very rocky, hard to plow,
"chencha märet" rocky terrain, where rain does not penetrate well.

[132
82] The preferred early rain is the light, intermittent but penetrating "zeg yalä zenab", not the heavy continuous downpour that occurs later. Fast-growing barley, called

243
251 "bällega" after the "bälg" season, is sown first, during the light rains of March, for it can be harvested 3 months later, just before the heavy rains, to help tide the people over until the main harvests. This is very important because of the traditional hesitancy of the farmer to store crops. Historically, he would rather have it almost ready on the stalk, and would rather risk a crop failure than

243
251 expose a full granary to the mercy of the feudal lord and passing soldiers.

Before threshing can begin, about a month after the end of the rainy season, a flat, circular area is marked out with rocks. Cowdung is stamped into the wetted floor, and the sun hardens the ground into cement-like consistency in one day. This threshing floor, called "awdema", is usually big enough to accommodate at least 4 oxen that are now driven over the grain, abreast but not tied, walking in a steady circle all day long, a procedure called "mabärayät". On the third day, winnowing (called "mäshin") takes place, by means of wooden pitchforks cut from a hardwood bush without carpentry (thus usually two-pronged), and a semi-circular winnowing fan about 2 feet long and not quite as wide, made of oxhide that has been stretched on a wooden, semi-circular frame. The threshed grain is covered overnight with branches, to protect it from wind.

On the fourth day, the grain is swept up with simple whiskbrooms made of stalks (e.g. those of wild oats). All these procedures are done as quickly as possible, partly to protect the crop during this stage of maximum vul-
754 nerability from birds and baboons, partly because of fear
609 of the evil eye. If an unrelated stranger passes at this time, the farmer sprinkles him with water to avert the possible evil eye. Formerly spitting was the procedure.

In that season many small threshing grounds dot the landscape, especially on river flood plains. Here the plots are usually not more than 100-200 yards long. A minimum team of three men can usually do the job described in four days. Only one person is needed to drive the

233 the season usually coincides with lent, when milk, as an animal food, is prohibited to the Coptic Amhara, anyway. Sometimes a wooden trough ("gända") is made out of a tree trunk, and after the cows have drunk, the sheep are permitted to use it. Milking is done in a very tightly woven reed container ("gerera") "waterproofed" by smoking (then called "qwacha" or "chocho").

233 423 691 Sometimes a large extended family will try to enclose a reserved pasturage for itself, by means of rock markers, within a "bota" that had been general pasturage. This almost invariably leads to litigation, but it is not rare in districts where landholding Amhara families of long residence feel very attached to a particular territory, e.g. in hamlets near Gondar (Awura, Addis Alam vicinity, Lidäta) and in the Menz district of Shoa.

231 The cattle of the Amhara is the humped variety (Bos Indicus, or, Zebu), which has apparently replaced the earlier cattle of Ethiopia, the unhumped Bos Primigenius.[61]

The hump of the oxen is much prized, and they are bred for it, as well as for strength in plow-pulling, but there is no breeding to obtain good milkers. The predominant attitude is that of agriculturists, not of pastoralists. The hump of the ox is utilized in plowing, to keep the yoke from slipping off; in fact, in lowlands where horses are occasionally used for plowing, an artificial hump of straw, reeds, etc., is made to hold the customary yoke. The hump is also a choice bit for eating, "shänya 251 262 läjegena" -- hump to the brave (warrior), still served to

61. Bettini, T. M.: Die Rindzucht in Italienisch - Ostafrika. Koloniale Volkerkunde, Wien, 1944.

324 motion, and the rotary quern of ancient Rome and Alexandria
412 is of course entirely unknown.

251 Bins for storage of grain are also made by men. The
333 two major types are the "gota", made of rings of sundried mud and straw, which are built up later inside the hut; and the "gotära" bin, made of a barrel-like skeleton of sticks, plastered with mud and left to harden in the sun. The former can, of course, be built higher, as much as 7 feet tall, while the latter is limited to the size of the door of the tuqul.

415 Gourds are widely raised as utensils, in line with the pattern of using natural products directly. Sometimes the gourds ("qel") grow on vines supported on the roof of the tuquol. When at full size, some are cut lengthwise so that each half represents a drinking cup with its own natural handle affixed. Travellers always carry these. They also carry gourds used as waterbottles ("wamära") with the top cut off and refixed to serve as a removable plug. Or, the narrowing top of a gourd is cut off and used by women while carding raw cotton on a bowstring. Artists of chiefs and feudal "great men" paint designs and scenes on gourds ("ankola") belonging to their patrons.

285 Basketry can be made by either men or women, often
415 by servants and ex-slaves, but since it is not considered specialized, there is no shame attached to this work. Both coiling and weaving techniques are used, the latter more often. Noteworthy is the frequent close weaving which results in watertight containers, further secured with hot milk and fumigating with gum woods. This method,

462 or will be described under "division of labor by sex".

462 The hardest daily work of the female is the pounding
252 and/or grinding of grain. Sorghum(mashella), barley, even shembera peas and pepper, are dehusked by pounding with an up-and-down motion in a hollow wooden tree-trunk, with a stout wooden pestle. After that, the grains are usually left overnight in water for softening. The next day they, as well as the common tyeff grain, are hand-ground on an inclined flat stone, by use of a smaller stone of different type, weighing as much as 4-5 kilos, with the same back-and-forth motion of ancient Egypt, rather than rotary. To produce flour for the entire family takes the better part of each day.

316 The woman carries water from the valley every morning,
462 sometimes several kilometers, in a heavy earthenware pot
[482] tied to her upper back. It weighs 20 kilos when full. Only during the 3-months rainy season can she use nearby brooks and temporary watercourses. This female task makes it possible to locate hamlets on or near hilltops, far from water in the dry season, but safe from flooding in the rainy season.

462 Kitchen duties of the female, besides cooking and
251 daily baking of "enjara" bread, includes also the processing of meat for later use. After slaughtering, done by men because of the religious significance of this duty from which women are excluded, she cuts the meat into thin strips, called "zelzel", dries them in the sun to leather-like toughness, then stores them in the hut for the next feast, for use in the stew called "zelzel wot". Food -

462 processing tasks of the women also include the prepara-
251 tion of staples of the pantry, to be ready for immediate use when her other taks have left her no time. The red pepper ("bärbäre") is preserved and readied in the form of a paste, by grinding it, adding water and salt, plus a bit of onion. This paste, called "dellehor "delleha" can then be used in wot, or to spice butter to be smeared on "enjära" bread, or mixed with oily nug paste and carried as a condiment and staple on travel. Another prepared spice condiment used by travellers is a dry mixture of spices, salt and "shero" (ground peas), called "metən". Butter may be processed by boiling it with pepper, or with the small yellow root of a rhubarb called "mäqmäqo" (Rumex abyssinicus), which is also used as a medicine against tuberculosis.

462 Fetching and producing materials for fuel is a major
237 female occupation, though left to young girls when avail-
372 able. A special supply of dried cowdung is prepared for the rainy season, beginning right after Easter when the intermittent light rains are expected soon. Donkey and horse manure, "fanday", are not used by the proud Amhhara, but cattle dung is flattened between the palms of women, dried in the sun, piled into tall heaps right next to the hut, then covered with a protective mask of mud and fresh dung. It is also women's task to watch the hearth fire in the evening, to check that it is covered with hot ashes over glowing embers, so that it will not go out and leave the hut chilly, on the one hand, but not burn so brightly that it might set fire to the hut.

778 the frame, are now often cut from modern tin cans.

The ceremonial drinking cup used in the eucharist is the "ṭewa", usually made of metal. But if used in the "mäḥabber" communal sodality outside the church, it is often of horn or clay, about 4½ inches high, 5 inches diameter at top, 1½ inches at bottom. On the latter occasion it is filled with barley beer or "berz" (honey-water). This is given the peasant at plowing time to [788] confer blessing upon him, thus called "maras baggo" (for spring plowing).

Other equipment belonging to the church may be a wooden pulpit for reading (not preaching), some tin [373] oil-lamps or the old wick-like candles (called "twār"). 778 534 Very important are the drums, huge affairs carried by the younger dancers during worship, suspended from shoulder straps. The barrel-like "nägarit", of which the average church has three (or must borrow them), usually has a height of at least 30 inches, a diameter of 15 inches. It is made of "wanza" wood (olive or other hardwood), with tanned oxhide moistened and stretched tightly across both ends. The drummer operates it with the flat of his fingers and top of flat palm. Another type is the "kabaro" drum, in which one end is bigger than the other. The drums and the swaying maqomya sticks keep time during the chanting. Trumpets are used only for parades, to herald the march, but not in accompaniment.

778 346 251 When not in use, most of these utensils are locked in a little treasure house, called "bētalehem" (in

778 Geez). Here the bread and wine used in the eucharist are
346 prepared and stored with great secrecy. The utensils of
251 the nearby cooking hut, the baking pan "metad" and large
clay jars for barley beer, are also stored here. Supplies
of tyeff, barley, wheat, beans, peas, may also be stored.

779 In recent years, church parades feature prominant-
186 ly the flag of the nation, the red-green-yellow of the
central government, emphasizing in modern ways the close
union of church and state that has long been traditional
in Abyssinia.

(e) Worship and Devotional Poetry.

533 The musical chants and notations studies formally
796 have already been outlined in connection with church education.

Church hymns, including devotional poetry, are called "gene" in a generic rather than specifically accurate sense. A collection of them is contained in the book "gubae gana", and they are sung in a special mode. The chief mode is called "selt". It has three variations:

(1) "geez" - short tones, dedicated to the "Father";

(2) "ezel" - mournful tones in minor key, dedicated to the "Son" 's passion;

(3) "araray" - long, drawn-out tones, dedicated to the "Holy Ghost".

These variations are interlaced, for special results, and for specific occasions. The mass, "neddede" (lit. a notification) is chanted in a mode bearing the

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
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262 greater treat than an ox, and within an hour of the purchase of the animal it was killed, skinned, cut into joints and divided amongst the tents, and our followers were busy gorging themselves on the still warm flesh. [25] What the twenty men could not eat in the day was 136 never cooked, but was cut into long thin strips and hung on ropes to dry in the sun and wind for the morrow's meal—a tempting bait for the vultures, hawks, and carrion crows that used to collect in their hundreds and make frantic dives for the tempting morsels, occasionally picking up a piece from the line in their claws to the intense disgust of the men. It was fascinating to watch the daring swoops and dips of the circling birds, and so reckless did they become that one day whilst we were at lunch a hawk, baulked of his craving for raw meat by the watchfulness of its guardians, actually swooped down on our luncheon table and snatched from the plate on my wife's knees the wing of a duck that she was about to operate on, brushing her face and knocking her knife out of her hand with his powerful wings; and at the same moment another bird lifted a cutlet from a dish which our "boy" was carrying from the cook's tent to our table. The "boy's" expression of indignation and helplessness was most comical to watch.

262 But to revert to the practice of eating raw meat. Early travellers to Abyssinia have not only commented on this, but have gone even further, and have stated that meat is cut and eaten *from the living animal*. Bruce describes two separate and distinct instances of this practice, which he stated occurred frequently. The first was that of three soldiers whom he saw driving along a cow, and on arriving at a halting-place they tied it,